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ABSTRACT

To discover the enduring effects of an intercultural education and experience, a longitudinal investigation of the alumni of Columbia Academy, an elite international school in Japan, was initiated in 1986. This paper reports on work in progress, focusing on issues involved in addressing an extremely diverse population with varying historical backgrounds. Preliminary results obtained from studies following up earlier research as well as from a pilot survey and interviews are reported. The paper reports on the: (1) international context of the school; (2) theory and methodology of the study; (3) acquisition of a cultural meaning system; (4) research design; (5) problematic aspects of the study; and (6) preliminary results. Appended are 88 references. (Author/SI)

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Growing Up International:

A Longitudinal Analysis of Significant Aspects

Of Education and Socialization in a Transcultural Setting

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ABSTRACT

In order to discover the enduring effects of an intercultural education and experience, especially in terms of the integration of one's self-concept and a sense of worldmindedness, a longitudinal investigation of the alumni of Columbia Academy, an elite international school in Japan founded in 1913, was initiated in 1986 by myself and a study team supported by the Toyota Foundation (Grant No. 86-III-004).

This paper is a report of work in progress, focusing on theoretical and methodological issues involved in addressing an extremely diverse population with varying historical backgrounds. The common thread which these people have is an intercultural experience at a young age and an education in an international school of high standards that has followed both North American and International (International Baccalaureate) curricula. Preliminary results obtained from follow-up studies to earlier research as well as from pilot surveys and interviews are reported.

Particular attention is given to the impact of transcultural experiences in childhood, adolescence, and young adulthood. An extensive literature review indicated that this may be the first longitudinal study of individuals raised in a transnational cultural environment.

The resulting account aims to: (1) be descriptive, (2) be historically based, (3) provide statistical corroboration, (4) present a description of the networks of human relationships of a transnational group of people, (5) present the views of a diverse group of people, and (6) set forth evidence of a transnational culture.

Introduction - The International Context

The direction of the future is indisputably international. There is no other choice in a world characterized by complex interdependence. Is this increasingly interdependent context breeding a transnational society? Does the international context demand a transnational participant?

The larger issue of whether such a transnational culture exists and who may belong to it can be studied from the point of view of the possible members of this culture. The development of a distinctive setting, the international school, may provide one answer since it is a product of the demands of this clientele.

What is particularly noticeable in an international school community is the extent to which its members share a common culture. These people are clearly oriented around the modern "Organization" (W.R. Scott, 1981) and, in particular, around the multinational corporation. Those who understand its requirements become members, regardless of their cultural backgrounds. In a sense, the modern Organization and its needs are altering the conditions and requirements of all schooling, but this is particularly true for international schools. For most people, being international has hardly been given a second thought, but in a world increasingly confronted with complex interdependence, the nature and beliefs of those who are at the intersections of cultures are becoming crucial questions.

Actors in the transnational setting of an international school pursue their lives without much thought of their nationality. The people who move in such international circles usually place themselves, their families and their work first, before nationality. Nationalism as a significant orientation comes only after these primary orientations and even then only if one is a newcomer or feels threatened. This culture is marked by a multiplicity of social groupings founded along national or 'shared interest' lines, interacting with each other in a wide range of institutional and extra-institutional settings.

International schools thus provide an institutionalized, multicultural form of socialization to international adult roles in a transcultural society. By international adult roles is meant roles which will enable people to adjust freely to a world characterized by complex interdependence. In an international school setting an educational process occurs that speaks for the transmission of specific skills and attitudes. 'International' refers to any activity that transcends national boundaries (geographic, political, or psychological), fostering cooperation and close relations among diverse groups of people in the process.

Cultural identity is a dynamic, living entity. Whether on an individual or a national scale, it requires nourishment if it is to grow and remain vital. The change and growth of people with a transnational experience, as viewed from the perspective of mature adulthood, is being examined. The study population is divided into cohorts determined by distinctive socio-historical factors, and these cohorts are being compared and contrasted with each other in an attempt to discern the particular locus of meaning for each group.

The study addresses the need for an account of transnational people, the products of a transcultural context. An important

mediating variable is the education these people received in the cross-cultural setting of an international school. The research was guided by the following questions:

1) What are the significant socio-historical attributes of transnational people? What effect did this education have on their social development? To what extent did a transcultural experience in childhood foster a sense of worldmindedness? How were these experiences integrated into their self concept?

2) What are the defining features of mature 'transnationals,' especially in terms of behavior, values and goals, and how have the themes found in multicultural contexts influenced them?

3) Are there differences between the goals and values of transnationals and other people, and, if so, what does this imply?

   Specifically, is their an awareness of cultural diversity and the acquisition of a worldminded perspective that is qualitatively different from other populations?

   If so, what implications can be drawn for educational systems in terms of the creation of an awareness of international matters and a sense of worldmindedness?

The strength of any education ultimately lies in its product: the graduates of an institution and the productive interaction they later have with their environment. What they do during their school-age years and how this affects their later lives constitutes the most realistic evaluation of an "effective education," if what we are seeking is the promotion of positive socialization and the acquisition of skills that will productively serve society.

The present research aims to: a) delineate certain descriptive demographic and behavioral characteristics of transnational people who were once students in an international school, b) examine the affective and cognitive values these people hold in relation to such characteristics, to their peers in their home country who did not have such an experience, and to each other, and c) discuss the promise their unique example holds for the analysis of human development and the possible creation of new educational curricula and extra-curricula.

The main aim in this study is to understand human development in the context of an international setting. To our knowledge this is the first research which tries to understand such an experience. The research has three specific objectives:

1) To determine the impact of an intercultural experience on growing up and on later life

2) To develop a profile of the alumni of an international school, a unique group of people

3) To discover implications for educational systems in terms of curricular and extra-curricular activities

A major objective of the present research is to attempt to describe what happens to those raised in an international context. There is little extant literature on this subject. In order to discover what happens to people who were raised and who may live in this unique transnational setting the relationship between early schooling, university or other later education, work, social structure, and cultural orientation. The justification for pursuing this study was at least partly due to the fact that there is little relevant literature about such people. This study aims to provide information about what happens in this transcultural setting from the view of insiders. Earlier studies have given us clues to the behavioral characteristics of this group of people during their adolescence (Willis, 1986).

Along with these goals our research aims at finding ways to make schools better, including international schools.

Transcultural people are in a sense 'cultural windows' on the future as polyethnicity becomes an ever more important social and institutional factor for national systems (McNeill, 1985). How these people have come to terms with what has been called 'the human community' is of special interest (Boyer, 1985). Not only do they display an interesting heterogeneity within themselves and in terms of their relationships with others, but the ways in which they have met the problems of reconciliation and accommodation (rather than cultural assimilation) can be seen as significant clues for understanding international and multicultural awareness. Potentially, one of the most useful products of this research is the insight given into the learning of global civic values and how they might be enhanced (see Torney-Purta and Schwille, 1986).

What happens to those with a multicultural background is of interest because it reflects valuable alternative ways of looking at education in national settings. By education is meant education in a broad sense, at all levels, and not just in schools. How the destinies of these diverse individuals are intertwined and mutually reinforced, as well as how they rejoice in their differences yet still find ways to transcend them, are of special interest. The potential contribution of those with an international background to multicultural education and multicultural understanding is truly outstanding.

What happens to transnational people has special importance because they act out the drama of their lives in what could be seen as an advanced arena for sophisticated encounters in multicultural

settings. In one sense what happens to international people may provide us with 'cultural windows' on the future for larger 'national' systems, both in terms of heterogeneity and strategies for not only coping with diversity but learning from it and using it to our advantage.

Much of what has been written to date concerning transnational people has been from one of a variety of viewpoints. Some studies have portrayed them as explorers, as pioneers. Others have seen these people as deficient, stunted or 'bifurcated'. One perspective has seen them as the ideal representatives of, say, 'America' overseas, while another places them in the vanguard of internationalism when they return to America. A different stance decries them as neo-colonialists in the service of an expansionist state, just as an equally strident stance states the threat to the (pure) national polity and society of (polluted) 'returnees', people who need to be 'stripped of their foreignness and re-dyed' as the real thing. The viewpoints of teachers, parents, institutions, the society, and individuals have thus been displayed. It is the intention of the present study to initiate a presentation, not of each politically-charged interpretation, but of the views of the major actors themselves. As an ethnographer I can do little better than to describe, as vividly as possible, the experiences and culture(s) of transnationals and transculturals.

Are these people in fact 'shadow figures' not really at home in any culture, as portrayed in much of the 'marginal man' literature? How far can we ascribe the problematic nature of transnationals to the inner experience of these people themselves and how far to those who have been their interpreters? In this sense we might consider the idea that what is marginal often moves gradually, along with the dawning of conciousness of their own position and power, towards being considered a minority and then a special interest group. Certainly, with the rise of Multinational Corporations (MNC's) we cannot discount this idea entirely.

Is there actually a double structure of identity for transnationals, something characterized by Japanese researchers on the problems of Japanese returnees as something "extremely disturbing psychologically."

Language issues are intimately related to transnational people, too. Many are, of course, at least bilingual. Has this background meant that these people have been "unable to perform adequately in any language and (with) a debilitating effect even on the intellect" (the view of certain Japanese researchers, as reported by Goodman, 1986)? Or, as a study by Elliot (1981) notes, do these bilinguals actually do better on measures of cognitive flexibility, creativity or divergent thought, as reflected in their life experiences? These are important questions, the answers to which can be at least

partially demonstrated by the reports these individuals give of their life courses.

One of my goals is to compare the rhetoric of, so to speak, 'internationalness' and global/international education with the reality of an internationally-experienced population.

Theory and Methodology

The theory and methodology of the study were principally informed by concepts from educational ethnography and what has recently been termed 'the anthropology of experience' (Turner and Bruner, 1986). The study draws substantially from Geertz's interpretation of cultural systems ("thick description," 1983) and aims at the creation of a vivid reconstruction of the phenomena studied (Rohlen, 1983). Selected theoretical constructs of von Bertalanffy, Weber, Durkheim, Scott, Goodman, and Bourdieu are also utilized. It follows a line of recent scholarship concerning socialization, values, and experience (Geertz, 1973, 1983, 1987; Turner, 1967, 1974; Torney et al., 1975; Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977; Bellah et al., 1985; Torney-Purta and Schwille, 1986; Turner and Bruner, 1986).

The pre-eminent goal of this research is what Geertz notes (1987) as "...a thoroughgoing revision of our understanding of what it is to open (a bit) the consciousness of one group of people to (something of) the life-form of another and in that way to (something of) their own." I am attempting thus to "inscribe a present - to convey in words 'what it is like' to be somewhere specific in the lifeline of the world...above all, a rendering of the actual, a vitality phrased."

Culture can be conceptualized as an elaborate set of meanings and values shared by members of a society. The present research does not really follow in the line of typical 'culture contact' studies which have generally been either structural/functional (concerned with modifications resulting from culture contact and focusing on institutions, ecological phenomena, and value codes) or psychological approaches (concerned with individual cognitive and emotional transformations) approaches

Man is a meaning-seeking animal, and culture is therefore patterns <u>for</u> behavior as well patterns <u>of</u> behavior. In this respect, man can be seen as having culture as a mental map for behavior. As Geertz and others have noted, culture consists of the structures of meaning through which men give shape to their experience. It is a shared symbolic universe which we as researchers are searching to explicate. Like Minoura's research on Japanese returnees, we are concerned here with how and when the individual develops a symbolic self, with how, when, and under what

circumstances a child comes to be involved in the symbols particular to one culture. Symbol markers of special interest to our study are language, friends, food and other material culture, and lifestyle. Our data collection aims at eliciting meanings and behavior (especially interpersonal behavior).

I would like to particularly note the power of expectation or mind set related to differing expectations about what will happen in a given situation or with a given group of people. The process of social definition can even be seen as a form of magic, for it determines what we see and what we do not see.

The theoretical basis of this approach follows Geertz, who stated that the task of an ethnographic study is hermeneutic or interpretive, and Nelson Goodman, who conceived of 'world-making' as the critical foundation of belief and action. The conception of social life in these views is organized in terms of symbols whose meanings must be grasped if the culture and its principles are to be understood.

For the larger world society, the need for understanding how other people see their experience has never been greater. Transnational people may provide new ways for looking at others from which so-called homogenous states can particularly benefit.

How representative is our sample, drawn from the alumni of one international school? The sample was selected, of course, not for its representativeness, but because it was accessible and open. As to how well these people represent a transnational culture, it is apparent that there are many similarities between the graduates of international or overseas schools. It would seem that there are enough similarities to at least tentatively suggest a generalizability.

The major variables are location, jobs held, and other factors of alumni composition, but even with alumni of various schools the sheer variety has itself become a standard feature. For the purposes of this study, however, it is unnecessary to defend the extent of this generalizability. Instead, it will be left up to individual readers who attended other international schools to determine whether their experience has been similar to that of the graduates of Columbia Academy.

The question of significance can also be answered by referring to the power of 'example.' The Chinese realized both the power and the virtue of example long ago. Moreover, it is suggested that the significance of the study lies at least partially in new ways of looking at old conceptual categorizations, be they nationality, career paths, or family patterns. The formulation of new relationships is of interest and it is here that those people with

significant international experience offer novel ways of seeing how old elements can be combined.

What if, for instance, the experience of these international people foreshadows in microcosm a transcultural world of the future? How might they provide new ways of viewing national institutions, particularly, for our context, educational institutions? Certainly the experience of international people at least helps frame the questions in a different light. An awareness of alternatives is important.

The study also carries significance in light of the fact that, although there have been many cross-cultural studies, few have addressed socialization as an issue taking place in a multicultural or an international setting. Potentially one of the most useful products of research into an international society is the insight that might be given to settings where multiple constituencies flourish. Here the problems of concern are reconciliation, accommodation, and acculturation rather than cultural assimilation.

Important findings that we expect to emerge from the present study include an analysis of demographic variables within the community of internationally-experienced people, historical factors that have contributed to the individual's development, the framework of individual and group values, and the definition of this transnational society through its symbols and rituals. Of special note is the fact that the patterns of behavior and attitudes of individuals when classified by nationality seem to have been superseded by their orientation and allegiance to other factors.

Experience is one of the key theoretical concepts in our analysis (Turner and Bruner, 1986), and while there are both private experiences and common experiences, it is by definition the common experiences that identify us as members of a given culture. For those who belong to the transnational culture, the substance and meaning of their common experiences (and what these may mean for an education of the future) will be a large part of our study.

The philosopher Dilthey has written that "reality only exists for us in the facts of conciousness given by inner experience." (Bruner, 1986, p. 4). Experience comes before anything else, and any study of experience should be concerned with how individuals 'experience' their culture - not only in terms of sense data and cognition but also through feelings and expectations. It is not merely 'experience' either, but <u>'an experience'</u> which calls for a retelling on our part.

But since we are all individuals and have individual experiences, how do we overcome the obvious obstacle that this limitation poses for us? Dilthey answers that we transcend experience by interpreting expressions. This interpretation of

expressions has been called hermeneutics. It consists, more precisely, of understanding and interpretation as they are applied to cultural representations, performances, and recordings (the encapsulations of experience) (Bruner, 1986, p. 5). As Bruner notes, the third part of this view of the world, after experience (life as experienced) and expression (life as told), is reality itself (life as lived).

This theoretical formulation also notes the poverty of binary logic when examing human beings and human systems. To see life as status-dynamism, continuity-change, or anthropology-history misses the point. Individuals, social organizations, and cultures are not static givens but are problematic and always being created. As Bruner (1986, p. 12) puts it, "Cultural change, cultural continuity, and cultural transmission all occur simultaneously in the experiences and expressions of social life... Culture is alive, context sensitive, and emergent." Through the concept of culture we recognize the possibility of linking together the way peoples live, throughout the world.

How especially appropriate then for us to look at a culture that exists transculturally, between these many cultures of the world. And it is in the common experiences of these people that this culture is borne. As Abrahams puts it so succintly (in Turner and Bruner, 1986, p. 46):

> "Culture now achieves a new meaning, the achieved agreements of social practices, an agreement given reinforced value and meaning in each act of sociability. And such practices, when they are writ large in cultural displays and performances, have added power because they achieve their force through the coordination of the energies of the group involved in the celebration."

Here we should recognize that we are moving away from simply a discussion on social institutions and into the arena of cultural performance and display. We are particularly looking for the techniques by which transnational people create ways of acting that validate both themselves as individual actors and themselves as a group at the same time.

The Acquisition of a Cultural Meaning System (or Systems)

What kind of meaning system is incorporated by these people? How? Over what period of time? Why?

A major goal of the study is to elucidate the acquisition of cultural identity. The study is also concerned with symbols - which symbols are important for the subjects, how these symbols reflect the perception the subject has of their culture (or cultures), and the effect these perceptions have on individual motivation and

productivity. Are there certain cultural determinants of life style? Which ones are uniform and which ones are different?

Moreover, is there a significant period for the incorporation of a cultural meaning system? Is it true, as some scholars state, that one can become "international" only after a national identity has firmly been established?

Are international people innovators, prophets for the future? Or are they maladjusted types potentially harmful to themselves and the society around them?

What cultural patterns of interpersonal relations and behavior exist for these transnational people? What are the variables in cultural patterning over the long term? What aspects of their history are important, particularly the periods/amounts of time they spent in a multicultural setting? One hypothesis which I would venture is that the 'formative years' are not confined to a brief span in childhood or adolescence, that these people acquire an early, multicultural understanding of semiotics that leads them to see any period in their lives as forming meaning.

Most socialization studies have focused upon learning to be a member of a society in which an individual is born and lives continuously. What about those who never lived in one society continuously? It may even be suggested that it is in fact rare to be raised continuously in the same culture.

The experiences of those raised in multicultural settings offers an unusual opportunity for observing cultural identity or identities. How and when do the processes by which these identities are established affect self-concept (not only in childhood but beyond)?

A transfer of residence to another culture and the subsequent contact with other cultures reveals the process of socialization in broad relief and can thus serve as an excellent way to assess cultural identity.

As Minoura (1979) has noted, the acquisition process of culture at the cognitive, affective and behavioral levels is different. The induction to a system of meanings takes place at varying paces. Acculturation then has two steps, mastering behavioral norms (participation) and acquiring a new cultural grammar (involvement). In cross-cultural situations there are also people who acknowledge the other culture(s) and those who do not acknowledge it.

When and how the individual comes to hold the authentic beliefs about himself in relation to his culture(s), social values which guide cultural identity, is also a concern of the present study.

The life-style, behavior, way of thinking, and friendship networks all reveal a person's cultural self-definition.

Do these people have a life in-between? In their acquisition of cultural identity what symbols and perceptions of culture are most salient? What patterns of interpersonal behavior do they display? What cultural patterning do they maintain, situated as many of them are at the interface of two cultures? Which variables in cultural patterning seem to be the most important?

How much does the diachronic aspect of living in a cross-cultural setting affect someone? What are the uniform and differential determinants of life style and social relational patterns?

What are the primary and secondary influences on the acquisition of a culture? Do age-linked or socialization/environment factors play the primary role in acquiring an interpersonal grammar?

The incorporation of one's meaning system is not well understood. Nor is it clearly noticed, unlike behavior patterns. Until recently there has been a mistaken assumption on the part of many researchers that human development could be considered sans culture as the same process wherever it occurs, that human development is 'culture-free. 'In fact, most socialization studies have focused upon learning to be a member of a society in which an individual is born and lives continuously.

Research Design

The study is a continuation of earlier research and utilizes previous surveys of the research population, including an extensive participant observation study of the school's ethos done by the author between 1980-1985 (Willis, 1986). The present research consists of multi-instrument data collection. Primary data-gathering is being undertaken through extended, structured interviews (averaging three hours in length and focusing on the subjects' goals, values, and achievements); field study in the international community of Kobe, Japan; and a six-page survey sent to over 1500 alumni worldwide (representing all known alumni addresses prior to 1984).

As any good ethnography demonstrates, the collection and presentation of both factual data and an in-depth analysis are incumbent on the researcher. I have attempted in the present study to do this by both a large-scale, cross-sectional longitudinal survey and lengthy personal interviews. Hopefully, the weaknesses inherent in each of these approaches will outweigh each other.

The main aim of the research is to try and understand human development in the context of a multicultural setting since nearly all studies of human development until now have been carried out in monocultural settings. What are the effects of this intercultural socialization? We hope to capture empirically how these people developed in a bicultural setting, especially in terms of their identity formation. The possibility of a novel insight or perspective is offered: how culture affects human development, thereby extending our understanding of socialization. To find what facilitates or hinders what we like to see as 'intercultural maturity', we are especially looking for evidence related to ...

awareness-perspective-empathy-commitment-action

Our study team's methodology is integrated (anthropology, education, psychology), concerned with 'human science semiology' (a theory of meanings), and conceptual hermeneutics (a theory of interpretation). Through such an interdisciplinary study team we hope to overcome the inherent bias which the quasi-tribalistic organization of the social sciences has been characterized by which has impeded research.

Planned as an instrument for studying 'human development in the context of a multicultural setting,' the survey was developed over a year and a half through numerous drafts. Its principal measures are cognitive, affective, and behavioral aspects of a transnational experience; a 'worldmindedness scale'; questions which approximate the four global dimensions of national culture (power distance, uncertainty avoidance, individualism versus collectivism, and masculinity versus femininity, as developed by Hofstede, in Mannari and Befu, 1983); and items drawn from the 'High School and Beyond' and other longitudinal studies for comparative purposes.

Parts of the survey have been distributed as a control to mainstream Japanese and American communities matched for socio-economic status with the study population. Sections of the survey used for the Japanese population were subjected to a double-blind back-translation. The larger instrument was pretested on a small sample population, previewed by a number of American and Japanese university professors, and then given, in a modified form, to the school's current 11th and 12th graders. As an indication of the type of data being collected, results for the latter are partially reported here.

Quantitative data analysis is being done through an SPSS-X package run on a mainframe computer located at a major Japanese research university. Standard ethnographic description and interpretation obtained through interviews and observation through living in Kobe complement numerical data. Interview questions were grouped under the following headings:

Early childhood
Japan experience
CA experience
College/Other education experience
Work experience
Family experience/relations
Friends experiences/relations
Civic duties/sense of service/experiences
Particular problems being international
Particular benefits being international

The essential core of the method followed is a concern with the meaning of actions and events as seen from the point-of-view of those who are the subjects of the study.

The study population consists of the alumni of Columbia Academy (C.A.), an international school in Kobe, Japan. The research was aimed at a diverse and interesting sample of people who had attended the school between 1913 and 1983. Although the total population was well over 3000, the highly mobile character of these people, their many nationalities, and the lack of a school alumni organization have presented considerable challenges in terms of locating subjects. Persistent and continuing efforts to track down alumni have yielded a sample of respectable size, however.

Certain members of the Columbia Academy staff as well as alumni have acted as key informants for the study, providing critical information on many aspects of the transnational experience as well as on research design and survey instruments. Recent graduates are not yet being surveyed, since we are interested in a mature sample that has experienced the world of work and is capable of long-term reflection. As the research is envisioned as a true longitudinal study to be carried out over many years, though, recent graduates will be included in the study in the future.

The survey elicts information on age, sex, nationality, birth place, cultural background, length of residence overseas, family socioeconomic/cultural status, occupations, types of education received, religion, language, politics, etc. Opinions regarding the relationship of a transnational upbringing to one's later public and private life are considered to be of primary importance. The analysis will consist of frequency and cross-tabulation tables to summarize and compare character variables.

For purposes of data analysis, members of the sample have been placed into naturally-appearing cohorts that formed around certain important historically-defined periods. These periods roughly corresponded to both the life of the school and

contemporary world history. Primary cohorts of interest were alumni of the following periods:

1913-1941 (pre-war, traditional school with North American curriculum)

1953-1963 (re-establishment of the school, the 'family period,' the appearance of American hegemony)

1964-1968 ('mature' American dominance in a Japan coming of age)

1969-1972 (a period of social dislocation effects from America and elsewhere)

1973-1975 (transition to a school doubled in size; full-fledged admission of 'pure' Japanese to the school)

1976-1979 (consolidation to larger school, Japanese and Americans as dominant cultural forces)

1980-1983 (the International Baccalaureate and 'European interim' prior to a shift towards Japanese cultural hegemony).

We are of course aware of the need to distinguish between age (the ageing process), period (the events of a historical period such as war, recession, and political changes) and cohort effects (similarities of individuals born at same time: Smaller cohorts, for example, experience more favorable life chances, job competition, and economic attainment). An obvious practical result of the research will be a profile of the various qualities of these people, notably which independent variables (background information such as SES, etc.) interact with which dependent variables (values, beliefs, and, especially, worldmindedness). How each generation and different groups (national, ethnic, religious, and bi/multiculturals) view their international experience will be examined.

The conceptual scheme for analysis of the data is being arranged after Bellah (1985), who has divided the experience of human beings into public and private spheres encompassing differing values, beliefs, and actions. The main headings are as follows:

I. Private Life - Description of Roles and Values

A. Finding Oneself - personality and culture

(cultural identity: acquisition and maintenance, finding oneself, love & marriage, getting involved in one's culture or cultures)

B. Family

C. Contact With Other Cultures - influence on self-concept

II. Public Life - Description of Roles and Values

A. Education

B. Work

C. Civic Responsibilities - local, regional, national scale

D. Contact with Other Cultures (e.g.: in education, work, etc.)

Of special interest are the effects of education in a multicultural setting, the stages of personal development, contact with other cultures, and cultural identity (acquisition and maintenance, finding oneself, love & marriage, getting involved in one's culture or in multiple cultures).

To get a reasonable response rate, we looked towards anything that would make the questionnaire look more professional, personalized and attractive. We paid special attention to making the instrument as easy to complete as possible. Respondents were encouraged to write their own comments on any question and one section specifically asked for a short answer about whether their international experience had been a help or a handicap. Material we do not initially anticipate and which more closely describes the respondent's own feelings are especially sought.

In our questionaire design we addressed the following critical issues:

1) reliability/validity of questions (previous literature?)

2) use of consultants expert in question design

3) pretesting/pilot work

4) rate of response

Sampling is not a critical issue for the survey portion of the research: surveys were sent to all known members of the alumni population. It is thus a purposive, not a representative sample. Follow-up procedures after the questionnaire is sent out are as follows:

a) send out the questionnaire

b) a month after the initial mailing, send all nonresponders a postcard reminder with some emphasis on the importance of the study and the need for a high response rate

c) after another month has gone by, mail a letter to remaining non-respondents again emphasizing the study's importance plus another copy of the questionnaire

d) next, consider telephone contact, or additional persuasion letters

Because we are interested in robust measures of attitudes and behaviors, the design of questions was aimed at maximizing the relevance between the answers we may get (the data) and what we are trying to measure. On the other hand, we consider the questionnaire to be a sort of conversation with the respondent, so we paid careful attention, too, to cues that we might give people by the style and content of the presentation. The possibility was noted that certain questions might embarrass some people: these questions were subsequently eliminated.

It was also our intention to provide questions measuring affective and cognitive states as well as behavior. Moreover, by including questions from other longitudinal studies (such as Cookson and Persell's work on US prep schools and the 'High School and Beyond' study done in the US and Japan) we will be able to utilize comparative data for national populations.

A Longitudinal, Cross-cultural Research Project: Problematic Aspects

Longitudinal studies can be either retrospective (sometimes called quasi-longitudinal design) or prospective (involving repeated data collections over a long period of time). The current research belongs at least initially to the former category, a category also referred to as cross-sectional. There are plans to extend the research over many years, however, (with follow-up interviews and surveys planned after five years) at which point it will also become a

prospective study. Unlike a regular survey, which collects information on net change at the macro-level, a longitudinal study such as the present one collects information over a much longer range, dealing with a large volume of gross changes at the micro-level. This sort of study is unique in its ability to answer questions about causes and consequences and hence to provide a basis for substantiated explanatory theory (Hakim, 1987, p. 87). As with most longitudinal studies, we are hoping to come up with "surprises and serendipitous discoveries by virture of their unique ability to identify sleeper effects... connections between events that are widely separated in time" (Hakim, 1987, p. 90).

Serious problems which are encountered in such research include sample attrition, non-response, failure to trace sample members, and the question as to whether those responding are indeed a representative sample. As a small scale longitudinal study, the current research is in some ways a case study, although earlier research seemed to indicate generalizability at least to the population of other people with an international school experience.

Of great concern is our potential response size as it is reflected in the number of accurate addresses. Considerable difficulty was encountered in tracking people down. Not only had many people moved, but phone numbers were unlisted or disconnected. To address strategies for coping with this problem has been a major part of the preliminary research work. The most important concern in this connection is a potentially low response rate on the questionnaires. Much time was thus spent in attempting to eliminate as far as possible sources of systematic error related to the potential response rate.

The main issue is how the address list was compiled & updated. The initial address list was a hodge-podge compilation from various individuals over the years who were interested in getting an alumni effort started. Needless to say, it was full of inaccuracies. Fortunately, later phone and mail inquiries were very positive for eliciting addresses, as was the initiation of an 'Alumni Newsletter,' the return of which indicated addresses which were no longer valid.

We have also been concerned that there we may be introducing significant bias in ways related directly to the purposes of our research. As those who favor a cross-cultural education we needed to think carefully about how to avoid procedures that might systematically produce major differences between those who answer and those who don't.

The 'intensives' (Japanese brought into the school directly after having been educated in the Japanese system

through junior high) experience is an especially important one in terms of understanding 'internationalization' and because of indications that their experience was an often difficult one compared to North Americans.

In our favor is the fact that the individuals we are trying to contact are likely to be highly educated and achievement-oriented. That the questionaire is about them (a very personal experience), and will possibly benefit them and those like them, is clear from the unusual context and the cover letter. Subsections of the questionnaire touch on this (Being at CA...; About Yourself...; Your Opinions about the world...). Because of the personal nature of the study, we anticipate that people are likely to be interested in anwswering the questionnaire.

Getting our subjects interested in the research problem has been aided considerably by announcements/endorsements in the school's newly initiated Alumni Newsletter and the fact of the school's upcoming 75th Anniversary celebration in October 1988. Moreover, the school announced in December 1987 that it would be moving its entire present campus, which dates from 1929, to a newly-created manmade island in Kobe port in 1990, a move certain to trigger both controversy and interest on the part of alumni.

There was also a concern with validity in the way questions ~~are~~ phrased. Reliability, ambiguity of phrasing, vagueness in the response forms, etc., were also addressed by the research team, the main intention being a search for evidence for how well the question measures what it is supposed to measure. In short, trying to standardize questions so that we can be fairly sure that they will mean the same thing to all respondents, reducing measurement error before the questionnaire goes out to people, one way of efficiently improving improving our potential data set. This is really more difficult than for most surveys since we are dealing with such diverse sub-populations. Pilot-runs of the questionnaire were done with representative members of sub-populations to see how they would answer questions differently from other groups. At the same time, of course, we are aware that the validity of the measure is increased as we can show real variation among respondents.

Another problem is that some people will avoid extremes in answers, while others (for example, Japanese) may tend to agree more than disagree (or disagree more than agree - e.g., people from cultures with a history of confrontation like the Jews). To partly circumvent this problem we included multiple questions phrased into different combinations. During the

analysis phase of the research we may find that we need to combine answers to certain question into a scale.

Although our survey instrument can only collect information on attitudes, values and motivation with reference to the present, in-depth interviews and historical research are also being undertaken which will hopefully provide at least some triangulation. as a supplement. Although retrospect information on earlier events contains distortions that color explanations, probing interviews can at least partially uncover information which is both valuable and valid. In these interviews we are particularly on the outlook for

> "... those explanations offered after the event which may be distorted by a concern to maintain or restore 'face', post hoc rationalisation, or by seeking to establish consistency between the past and the resent, or between the present and the future." (Hakim, 1987, p. 92).

One daunting problem in such research is the enormous diversity of respondents. Trying to make sense of the experiences of dozens of nationalities (and combinations of nationalities) who have had various educational, vocational, and family experiences in various countries, and at different periods of time to boot (not to mention myriad personalities), would seem foolish indeed. Yet what unites this polyglot population is a common experience of having been raised and educated together in a multicultural environment - together. As an important sub-sample in this research, a referential touchstone for these people's experiences, we also have the reports of their teachers.

We are also aware that a key issue in a mail survey is that with low response rates the results will almost invariably be biased significantly in ways that are related directly to the purposes of our research. People who are particularly interested in the research problem will be most likely to return questionaires. The problem of missing a potential shadow population which may have significantly different interpretations of the international experience, for example, is a serious one. Members of this group may have purposely excluded themselves from the alumni address list of the institution because, for them, the experience was damaging and something they would like to forget. How can we find this group and the dimensions of their experience?

One way of discovering the shadow group has already been broached by another methodology used in the study: interviews. During interviews with alumni the following leading question is asked: Do you know of anyone for whom the experience of an international up-bringing was damaging? If the answer is yes,

then other questions that have been asked include: If so, how? In what ways? What happened to them as far as you know and, from your point of view, why?

Although this approach fails to obtain quantifiable data, the quality of the information is, at least affectively-speaking, quite high. It approximates, after many interviews have been conducted, what might have been obtained had the shadow sample actually been surveyed.

Another method of searching for such data is to discuss former problem students with the guidance counselors and principals of international schools. These people are, of course, in the business of dealing with individuals who, for whatever, reason, are disturbed. In the case of the present study guidance counselors (for both Japanese and non-Japanese) as well as principals were interviewed to try and further approximate the potential missing population.

Preliminary Results

Socialization is a major objective of all communities. As a primary and uniquely accessible vehicle of this socialization, an international community presents a complex network that socializes all who encounter it. Recurrent themes encountered earlier with the CA student population of the 1980s included mobility, adaptability, flexibility, resilience, solidarity in friendships, awareness and sensitivity to others, tolerance, broadmindedness, prudence, patience, and personal transformation.

The surprisingly smooth handling of multiple transitions and extended transience suggested that these themes constitute coping or adaptive mechanisms learned in a school environment that may benefit formerly stable national populations now intensely 'on the move.' Whether similar or differing results occur over a long period of time and to different age cohorts is now a key question. To what extent has the international school played an intermediary role in the acquisition of personal meaning systems?

The population of alumni is diverse, not only in terms of nationality but also length of residence abroad, religion, languages used, and occupations. Preliminary sampling of the subjects show that they consider themselves well-to-do and/or highly educated. Peer relationships with similar individuals appear to play a very important role, both in socialization and in later life. This also seems to be indicated by the strong responses aroused whenever the topic of friendship was brought up, either on the surveys or during interviews.

This appears to be a remarkable group of people. Through profound personal transformations they have come to possess a wide range of learned cultural competencies and productive achievements. Their primary focus seems to be on what might be termed the quality of human encounters. While this research has begun to establish certain descriptive parameters for transnational people, it also raises intriguing questions.

Judging from the information gathered to date, the following themes pervade this culture:

1. Maintenance of self (growth)

2. Social relations: An emphasis on the bonds of friendship, group values, and cultural awareness. Appreciation of one's own ethnic group, other cultural groups, other languages, and different lifestyles is present. Note that emphasis on cultural awareness does not necessarily mean an emphasis on nationality, especially in the sense of its extension, nationalism.

3. Cultural capital: An acquisition from an international context of the values of friendship, cooperation, interdependence, the group over individual needs, and personality as the primary defining feature of other people. Note that this means that much time and energy is devoted to learning to cope with a variety of linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Cross-cultural encounters are highlighted. Learning to work with people is a singular achievement of transnational people.

It should be noted that, although the first two themes for both ideology and experience are similar to what happens to most people, the third theme in each category is special to those brought up in a transnational environment. The sum of the transcultural experience appears to be a profound personal transformation during which awareness and sensitivity to others become central operating features in one's life. These people are more than simply <u>in the world</u> - they are <u>with the world</u>. For them national identity is less important than their own personal, transcultural identity.

Preliminary results also reveal that these internationally- experienced people share:

- unique success in their life-course (economically, politically, and socially)

- a lack of ethnocentrism

- a very broad perspective of the world

- great flexibility, sensitivity, and understanding
- greater tolerance of difference and ambiguity
- special insight into people and relationships
- an unusually strong self-awareness about identity, value structure, and communication patterns
- a caution about being judgemental and evaluative
- a great awareness of the world
- a special flexibility and adaptability to other people and changing circumstances

Moreover, interviews have indicated three sets of exceptional skills which appear to be developed in these transnational people:

1. Mobility: including smooth handling of transitions/transience
2. Adaptability: including flexibility and resilience
3. Tolerance: including prudence and patience

As researchers we now face of assimilating and synthesizing the data we are gathering, data we feel is best categorized as beliefs, feelings, and behavior.

Conclusion

What happens with transnational people encourages us to put educational questions in a different light, to present new ways of looking at conceptual categorizations of what constitutes a valuable education. If nations wish to improve and enhance the educational quality of their citizens they might pay more attention to the particular socio-cultural contexts where values, constraints, and encouragement are expressed - and less to formal institutional structures. It is in the ethos of these contexts that opportunities for personal, and therefore societal, growth are in fact offered and encouraged.

The results that we obtain thus have important implications for American, Japanese, and other national schooling as we enter an age of global interdependence. In a world of global interdependence people with a transnational background play a particularly significant role. Again and

again during interviews, these transnational people mentioned that people should be more aware of the world's intricate connectedness and interdependence, that we need an essentially new way of thinking if mankind is to survive. In this sense, are these people in fact marginal - or are marginal people moving to the core of experience - which in the future will be based on multiple, cross-cultural experiences?

To what extent does the rhetoric of 'internationalness' actually ring true, is actually a valid propostion for an internationally-experienced population? What are the dimensions of this 'internationalness'? Certain hypotheses about what it means to be international were initially hypothesized, but to what extent are these idealistic rhetorical creations and to what extent do they actually reflect the reality these people experience?

Could what we find represent the emergence of a transnational culture? If so, what implications are there for educational settings and their curricula/extra-curricula. The study of such people illuminates a number of elements of a larger social picture that may be related to this question. The privileges of those related to multinational business and the socialization of those who would span boundaries or provide buffers is a complex process with significance for an increasingly interdependent world.

> There is a growing awareness of what Falk has called ...the formation of a global constituency of persons who complement their national citizenship with identities as planetary citizens. Such an expansion of identity and loyalty is critical for the transition to a humane system of world order. In fact, acquisition of a planetary outlook and its embodiment in thought, feeling, and action help us grasp what system-transforming kinds of world order are about at this stage of international history. Multiple identity patterns are quite consistent with this imperative. Thus, one can add a planetary identity to national, class, ethnic, religious, local, and family identity; each can be vivid and intense. (1983, p.58)

This study represents a glimpse of a very special mosaic, a multicultural milieu that is almost bewildering in its complexity. Surveys, observations, interviews, primary historical documents, publications, and statistical analyses have given this study an added impetus that reflects the old adage that the whole is greater than the sum of its parts. What happens to international people provides an interwoven complexity and diversity that has important implications for cross-cultural communication and national consciousness.

What holds internationally-oriented people like CA's alumni together is mobility and the shared lives which their rites of passage have symbolized. The usual human behavior of seeking peer group support and approval is heightened by a consciousness of the transitory settings and nature of their lives. Friendships for transnational people are deep and lasting or short and ephemeral. Many carry over into adult life despite the separation of time and distance, indications of the networks of affiliation which developed apart from the official goals of the school. For them, the forging of a collective identity is reported to be based on a multicultural, not an academic, experience.

Particular effects of the CA/international experience that we are interested in are those on language, awareness, broadminded-ness, and nationalism. A transformation takes place in many people, making them aware of the new social role that they are playing (with the subsequent personal and lifestyle changes that this implies).

The many 'languages' these people pick up can be viewed in the wider sense of learned cultural competencies, the grammar of interpersonal relationships. CA alumni are very facile in social relationships. Areas where the social experience at Columbia Academy or an international setting play an important role are best spoken of by the alumni themselves. We have already collected some fascinating voices from history.

The resulting account aims to: (1) be descriptive, (2) be historically based, (3) provide statistical corroboration, (4) present a description of the networks of human relationships of a transnational group of people, (5) present the views of a diverse group of people, and (6) set forth evidence of a transnational culture.

The most fundamental conflict of late 20th Century humans is that between their identity as members of national communities and their growing awareness of membership in a world community. But do these identities need to conflict? Are world-mindedness and national identity in fact mutually exclusive? Might it not be probable that accomodation of both is not only possible but inevitable, that world-mindedness and national identity are in fact interdependent? Or is this mere rhetorical flourish for a world intensely preoccupied with special interest groups?

Whatever else, the goal of this research is to enable what Geertz (1987) calls a "conversation across societal lines - of ethnicity, religion, class, gender, language, race - that have grown progressively more nuanced, more immediate, and more irregular." If the current research enlarges...

"the possibility of intelligible discourse between people quite different from one another in interest, outlook, wealth, and power, and yet contained in a world where, tumbled as they are into endless connection, it is increasingly difficult to get out of each other's way...." (Geertz, 1986)

... then it will have achieved its goal.

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